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ABSTRACT

A study of 4,692 news stories from Egyptian, Algerian, and Tunisian electronic and print news media was conducted to see how state-controlled media reflected government policy changes following the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty and the subsequent diplomatic break between Egypt and Arab League nations. The study found that the three controlled press systems used more positive and negative affect when referring to Israel and Egypt than did the noncontrolled systems, which exhibited largely neutral or mixed affect. The patterns of bias that emerged from the study suggested that government-controlled Arab media do not slavishly follow government policy, and that the media of individual Arab countries exhibit striking differences. For example, Tunisian news treatment was straightforward, presenting the majority of stories without bias, Algerian treatment colored the majority of references to Israel and Egypt, and Egypt's penchant for bias fell somewhere in between. Finally, all Arab media exhibited certain patterns of affect: Arab-to-Arab, Arab-to-Israel, and Arab-to-other. The negative affect with which Arab media portrayed Israel seemed intransigent and thorough-going. (RL)

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Affect of Arab News:

Post-treaty Portrayal of Egypt and Israel in the Mass Media of Three Arab Countries

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I. INTRODUCTION

The year 1979 was a momentous one for the planet because of events that took place in the Middle East. This paper will look at the mass media of three Arab countries—Egypt, Algeria and Tunisia—directly involved in those events to see how their media reflected the changes that occurred.

It was Egypt's change of policy toward Israel that set off shock waves in the Middle East and seemed to spell the end of her leadership of the Arab world. Tunisia, a moderate Arab country, and Algeria, generally considered to be a radical state, could be expected to reflect in their media two extremes in the range of reactions to Egypt's rapprochement with Israel.

Egypt had risen to assume leadership of the Arab world in the 1950s, after a military junta overthrew King Farouk in July 1952 and a reformist, socialist republic was established. With anti-Zionism a pillar of her foreign policy, she fought against Israel in 1948, 1956, 1967 and 1973.

In the mid-1970s, President Anwar Sadat began to change Egypt's position toward Israel, starting with the Sinai disengagement agreement signed by Egyptian and Israeli officials in 1974. Then, in 1977, Sadat became the first Arab leader to visit the Jewish state. The Camp David accords were reached in September 1978, followed by the signing of the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty on March 26, 1979, in Washington, D.C.

The next day, 19 Arab League members convened a meeting in Baghdad, agreeing to expell Egypt from league membership and move the league's headquarters from Cairo to Tunis. Only two league members—Oman and Sudan—did not break diplomatic relations with Cairo.

Although 1979 stands out as a portentous year because of a number of cataclysmic events compressed into a short span of time, the Arab world has had ramifications for the U.S. since World War II; after the Arab oil embargo of October 1973-March 1974, its impact has been impossible to ignore. Nevertheless, relatively little research on and analysis of Arab mass media has appeared in the West.[1] William Rugh's book The Arab Press,[2] the first in any language to systematically treat mass media in the 18 nations of the Arab world, was published in 1979. The only previous book by a Westerner came out in 1952, treating just five states in the eastern Arab world (Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, Iraq and Egypt.)[3]

A small number of journal articles surveying Arab media has appeared in English.[4] Of single Arab countries, Egypt has been the most studied,[5] while nations in the Maghreb--Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia--have been virtually ignored.[6] Within this limited literature, no content analyses have appeared recently.

This study attempts to partly fill that void by looking at the question of how official policy in three Arab countries is translated into media content. Given her controlled press system, we would expect Egypt, having just signed a treaty with Israel, to portray her new friend positively. Conversely, we would expect Algeria and Tunisia, having just broken diplomatic relations with Egypt, to portray her negatively.

In all three countries in question, the state owns and operates all radio and television stations, while it influences newspapers both directly and indirectly. Constraints on freedom are numerous.[7] Two surveys of press freedom--defined in the Western sense as independence from government control--rank Egypt, Algeria and Tunisia as "not free": the PICA Survey of the University of Missouri[8] and a classification by Raymond B. Nixon.[9]

II. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Problem Formulation. In his well-known work on content analysis, Ole Holsti[10] lists three uses of that method: describing message characteristics, inferring information about causes and inferring information about effects. He warns against making assumptions about a source's reasons, values, motives or intentions from content alone, however: "it is hazardous indeed to assume, without corroborating evidence from independent, noncontent data, that inferences about the author may be drawn directly from content data."[11]

Thus this paper does not seek to "show" that Arab media gatekeepers want to turn their audiences for or against Israel or Egypt, or that they approve or disapprove of Israel or Egypt. It hopes rather to discern whether 1) the press in Egypt, Algeria and Tunisia exhibit bias (non-neutrality) of news content in a patterned way; 2) the three countries, if biased, show similar patterns; and 3) these three controlled media systems differ from free media systems.

Does Egypt portray Israel in a completely positive way in the wake of the treaty? Do Algeria and Tunisia portray Israel negatively? Egypt negatively? Is there discrepancy or matching in the picture of Israel and Egypt in the press of each country? Are non-Arab media unbiased toward Israel? toward Egypt?

Variables. An attitude, according to "most contemporary usages, involves . . . dispositions to evaluate objects favorably or unfavorably."[12] Osgood, May and Miron[13] have confirmed that the evaluative response to stimuli, which

they term "affect," holds across language and culture. The positive and negative word lists developed by this research provide examples of the coloring which Arab gatekeepers might use and content analyzers might see as positive or negative.

We define the independent variables in this study as the formal or informal information policies or views held by Arab (Algerian, Egyptian and Tunisian) gatekeepers toward Egypt and Israel. The dependent variable is affect or "coloring" of news stories about Egypt and Israel (positive, negative or neutral/mixed).

In carrying out this study, we used the following conceptual definitions:

Affect-- wording which creates in the mind of the average reader shadings of feeling

Positive affect--words presumed to create feelings of favor toward an object, event or person, such as "good," "true," "kind," "harmonious," "optimistic," "reputable"

Negative affect--words presumed to create feelings of disfavor toward an object, event or person, such as "bad," "false," "cruel," "dissonant," "pessimistic," "disreputable"

Mixed/neutral affect--words which are presumed to have neither a positive nor negative effect on a reader's feelings toward and event, object or person

Bias--a significant proportion of positive or negative affect in news story content, as opposed to a preponderance of neutral/mixed affect.

Hypotheses (Verbal Model). Relations among variables may be stated as follows:

1. A difference exists in the affect used by Arab gatekeepers in their treatment of Egypt vs. Israel.

2. Bias (non-neutrality) exists in the Arab gatekeepers' treatment of both Egypt and Israel.

3. Compared to gatekeepers in controlled Arab mass media, those in free, non-Arab media will show a) less difference in treatment of Egypt vs. Israel and b) less bias toward those two countries.

III. METHOD

The UNESCO National Images Project. The data in this study come from that part of the UNESCO National Images Project which was carried out by the School of Journalism at the University of North Carolina- Chapel Hill. After the 1976 UNESCO General Assembly meeting in Nairobi, Kenya, UNESCO asked the International Association for Mass Communication Research (IAMCR) to study the quantity and quality of international news in various countries' media.

The need for the study arose from the "new world information order" controversy, which, beginning in 1970, emerged as a topic of debate at the U.N. This phrase has come to stand for various complaints by Third World nations about the four Western wire services' (AP, UPI, Reuters and Agence France Presse) monopoly over world news. Major complaints include the "unfair" reports the wires send out about the Third World and the "inappropriate" information wires send to the Third World.

UNC, using a content analysis scheme developed by IAMCR, surveyed media of 12 countries and the United States. A total of 952 stories was coded for Algerian media; 1605 for Tunisian media; and 2135 for Egyptian media. This paper draws on only two types of a plethora of information which was coded for these 4,692 stories: nationality of the four main actors and affect toward these actors. (Affect, not part of the original design, was added at the request of the U.S. International Communication Agency, which participated in and partially funded the UNC project.)

Coders had to make more subjective decisions than the Holsti ideal of coding as a simple, clerical task.[14] A graduate student from Egypt analyzed all the Arabic-language materials for Egypt, Algeria and Tunisia; another coder dealt with the remaining media, which were in French. Inter-coder reliability in a four-article test for these two was 63 percent for actors' nationality and 63 percent for affect.

Units of Analysis and Sample. The population of this study is all news stories in all electronic and print media in the Arab world since March 26, 1979, the date of the signing of the Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty. Sampling among countries in the Arab world was done by the ICA (which had formally replaced the U. S. Information Agency in April of 1978) on the basis of importance to the U.S. and existence of a variety of established daily media. Egypt, Algeria and Tunisia were all judged to meet these criteria.

The three countries represent an interesting cross section of the Arab world. Egypt, the largest Arab nation (estimated 1976 population, 38,070,000), has traditionally had "the most influential and quoted press in the Arab world."[15] Its seven daily newspapers have a combined circulation of 1,333,000 (1976 figures).[16] By contrast, Tunisia's five small dailies, with a combined circulation of only 139,000 (1976 figures),[17] have virtually no impact beyond her borders. Algeria has four dailies with a 235,000 combined circulation.[18]

Furthermore, the three countries' media exhibit divergent forms of government control. In Algeria, no private media exist; all reflect the party line and aim to mobilize the citizenry in nation building. The Egyptian press likewise serves as a mobilization tool, but is "not a dull, completely predictable and slavish mouthpiece of the regime akin to Russia's Pravda."[19]

Tunisian media, which include both party and privately owned newspapers, are much more passive than those of Egypt and Algeria. The press "avoids the language and opinions of aggressive and revolutionary journalism. . . . its news treatment is more likely to be straightforward or even dull."[20]

Sampling among media within these three countries was done by employees at ICA posts in Algeria, Egypt and Tunisia. Employees chose the largest-circulation daily, plus two or three other dailies "representative of the national press," according to IAMCR instructions. The radio and television sample was to include the main news program of each day; these were taped onto audio cassettes.

This researcher chose Iceland and Mexico to represent the free press; they are northern and southern hemisphere examples chosen from the limited number of free press countries surveyed in UNC's project (and more comparable than U.S. media.) The Freedom Classification listing mentioned earlier ranks Iceland as 1 (free- no qualifications) and Mexico as 3 (free- some instability).[21] The PICA survey, while not mentioning Iceland, also puts Mexico in category 3 (free- many controls).[22]

Media from Mexico are El Universal, Excelsior and "24 Horas," a television news show. Media from Iceland are Morgunbladid, Plodviljin, Dagbladid and the daily news from Radio Iceland. The Arab world media with newspaper circulation figures (1976)[23] are:

Egypt	Algeria	Tunisia
Al Ahram (520,000)	El Moudjahid (Fr-150,000)	La Presse (Fr-30,000)
Al Ghoumhuriya (60,000)	Al Sha'b (40,000)	Al 'Amal (27,000)
Al Akhbar (650,000)	Algiers TV	L'Action (Fr.-27,000)
Radio Egypt		TV Tunisia

Stories coded were those dealing with 1) home country's activities abroad; 2) events in the home country involving foreign actors or situations; 3) news abroad not involving the home country; and 4) other international news. No purely domestic stories were coded, nor was material from special sections such as sports, travel or food.

Sampling in time encompassed the continuous week of April 23-29 and a composite week (April 2, 17; May 2, 17; June 1, 16). The unit of analysis was the news story--for newspapers, all the material printed under one heading; for radio and television, all the material following an introductory statement on one topic.

IV. RESULTS

Difference in Treatment of Israel vs. Egypt. Table I shows the affect for each mention of an Egyptian or Israeli actor in our target media. The difference in portrayal is significant for all three Arab countries--at the .001 level for Egypt and Tunisia and the .005 level for Algeria. Thus we can reject the null hypothesis that no difference exists in favor of research hypothesis 1. It is interesting to note the total absence of any positive portrayals of Israel by Algeria and Tunisia.

Bias in Treatment of Egypt and Israel. Table II shows how well our target countries stand up against a standard of complete neutrality. Here the total number of actual cases was used as the theoretical N for the mixed/neutral category. Again we can reject the null hypothesis that no bias exists in favor of research hypothesis 2. (The table has been set up to reflect the successive magnitude of chi square calculation, with Egypt's portrayal of itself showing the least neutrality and Tunisia's portrayal of Egypt showing the most.)

Portrayal of Egypt and Israel by Free, Non-Arab Media. Table III shows for Iceland and Mexico what Table I showed for the three Arab countries. The chi square shows no significant difference in treatment of Egypt vs. Israel by either Mexico or Iceland. Thus we can reject the null hypothesis that Arab and non-Arab media are the same in favor of research hypothesis 3a.

Table IV shows that no significant bias exists, in contrast to the media of the Arab countries. Thus we can reject the null hypothesis in favor of research hypothesis 3b.

V. DISCUSSION

Having considered the affect associated with 2,346 mentions of Egyptian and Israeli actors in Arab mass media, this study suggests several possible conclusions: 1) the media of individual Arab countries exhibit striking differences; 2) government-controlled media do not slavishly follow government policy; and 3) Arab media tend to conform to certain over-arching patterns.

This study's 1979 findings affirm Rugh's earlier assessments of the characteristics of various national press systems. Even under the strain of national and regional upheaval, Tunisia's "news treatment is . . . straightforward." [24] It avoids coloring its portrayal of both Israel (60 percent neutral/mixed) and, especially, Egypt (84 percent neutral/mixed). (See Table I.) Algeria continues to use "the language . . . of aggressive and revolutionary journalism" [25] by painting a decidedly derogatory picture of its two adversaries (Israel 62 percent negative; Egypt 57 percent negative). Egypt hews to a middle path, with about three-fourths of its coverage neutral/mixed and about one-fourth "biased."

If Egypt's media system were a "predictable and slavish mouthpiece of the regime," [26] we would expect Egypt to show toward Israel, with whom a peace treaty had just been signed, more positive affect than 12 percent. Likewise, we would expect Tunisia to show toward Egypt, with whom it had just broken diplomatic relations, greater negativity than 13 percent.

Looking at Table III, where neutral/mixed affect in Mexican and Icelandic media ranges from 84 to 91 percent, one might conclude that an absence of bias is business as usual. Perhaps most stories are simply pedestrian by nature, unsuitable to injections of positive or negative affect. Such an argument does not hold up, however, when we are looking at actors--and almost all stories include at least one individual or collective actor. This study has dealt with actors precisely because they are so malleable; in theory, each one could have a positive or, as happens more frequently, a negative epithet or adjective attached to it. The fact that Algeria's "bias count" is so much higher than its "neutral count" (34 percent and 38 percent) shows that it can be easily done. (See Table I.)

The headline of the article reproduced as Appendix I, for example, reads, "Demonstration (erupts) at ElMenia (in Egypt) against the treason of Sadat." An article in El Moudjahid on April 17 refers to "the treasonous accord signed by Sadat with the Zionist enemy," a common epithet for Israel. Likewise, in a page 1 article in Tunisia's La Presse of April 23, Sadat is "condemned" and is criticized for having "buried the feeble hope of Egyptian-Arab rapport."

A second argument could be made that the Arab press does not use affect to slavishly follow policy because publicly stated policy is not "real" policy. This brings us to conclusion 3 as stated above--that something more "real" than a transitory policy shift is at work.

Treaty documents notwithstanding, it may be that Israel can never be Egypt's friend; a shift from negative affect to the neutrality we see on Table I may be as far as deeply intransigent attitudes can "progress." It may also be that Israel will always engender more opprobrium than Egypt could ever evoke, no matter what she does.

Arab gatekeepers may thus exhibit a number of patterns of affect:

1. Arab-to-Arab Affect. President Sadat has referred to the other Arabs' outpouring of criticism against Egypt as a family feud. To Westerners, it may seem that the Arab family has disowned prodigal son Egypt irrevocably. But Sadat may be right.

Other Arabs turned on Jordan when it fought with and evicted from its territory in 1971 armed Palestinians, and on Syria when it invaded Lebanon in 1977. This researcher believes that negative affect, if studied through content analysis of 1971 and 1977 newspapers, would show similar patterns to that used against Egypt in 1979.

Furthermore, the negative affect toward Jordan and Syria surely subsided in later newspapers. Likewise, a content analysis over time will probably eventually show lessening negativism toward Egypt.

2. Arab-to-Israel Affect. In the light of Algeria and Tunisia's complete absence of positive affect toward Israel, we might regard Egypt's positiveness as "artificial"--a forced aberration resulting from a conscious, contrived campaign. This researcher sees that positiveness as unstable, vulnerable and sensitive to subtle shifts in thinking.

3. Arab-to-Other Affect. The UNESCO data could be used to see if Arabs show a third pattern of affect, and perhaps even a fourth and fifth, toward, say, the East, the West and the Third World. This researcher believes those patterns would differ from the Arab-to-Arab positiveness and the Arab-to-Israel negativeness.

Analysis might answer such questions as: Do gatekeepers in the Arab world function alike? Or are there discernible stereotits of Arabs? Are they different from gatekeepers elsewhere? Were it not for its increasing importance to us, sheer size of the 18-nation Arab world alone would make its press a worthy topic of study.

NOTES

[1]For example, only two articles on Arab media appeared in cumulative indexes to Journalism Quarterly between 1924, the journal's first year of publication, and 1973: C. Wilton Wynn, "Western Techniques Influence Party Newspaper in Egypt," Journalism Quarterly 25, 4 (December 1948): 391-94, and Baha Abu-Laban, "Factors in Social Control of the Press in Lebanon," Journalism Quarterly 43, 3 (autumn 1966); 510-18.

[2]William A. Rugh, The Arab Press (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1979). The 18 states are: Algeria, Bahrain, Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, the Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, the United Arab Emirates, the Yemen Arab Republic and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen.

[3]Tom J. McFadden, Daily Journalism in the Arab States (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University Press, 1953).

[4]Articles on Arab world media besides those cited in footnote 1 include: Ibrahim Abu-Lughod, "International News in the Arabic Press: A Comparative Content Analysis," Public Opinion Quarterly 26 (1962): 600-612; John B. Adams, "Problems of Communication in the Arab World," Arab Journal 1 (spring-summer 1964): 83-88; Douglas A. Boyd, "A Q-Analysis of Mass Media Usage by Egyptian Elite Groups," Journalism Quarterly 55 (autumn 1978): 501-507; and Hamid Mowlana, "The Press and National Development in the Middle East," Intellect 466-68 (March 1976).

[5]Articles dealing specifically with Egypt include: Adnan Almaney, "Government Control of the Press in the United Arab Republic, 1952-1950," Journalism Quarterly 44, 2 (summer 1972): 340-48; Douglas A. Boyd, "Development of Egypt's Radio: 'Voice of the Arabs' Under Nasser," Journalism Quarterly 52, 4 (winter 1975): 645-53; and Milton Viorst, "Egypt and Israel: Two Nations and their Press," Columbia Journalism Review (May/June 1974): 32-35.

[6]None of the works on Arab media listed in footnote 4 includes the Maghreb.

[7]Raymond Gastil, Freedom in the World (New York: Freedom House, 1980).

[8]PICA Survey, 1966, in John Merrill, Carter Bryan and Marvin Alisky, The Foreign Press (Baton Rouge: LSU Press, 197): 33.

[9]Freedom Classification Survey in Raymond B. Nixon, "Freedom in the World's Press: A Fresh Approach with New Data," Journalism Quarterly 42: 1 (winter 1965): 3-14.

[10]Ole Holsti, Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1969).

[11]Ibid., p. 32.

[12]Chester A. Insko and John Schopler, Experimental Social Psychology (New York: Academic Press, 1972), p. 1.

[13]C.E. Osgood, W.H. May and M.S. Miron, Cross-cultural Universals of Affective Meaning (Urbanna: University of Illinois Press, 1975).

[14]Holsti, op. cit., p. 99.

[15]Mowlana, op. cit., p. 467.

[16]Rugh, op. cit., p. 32.

[17]Ibid., p. 73.

[18]Ibid., p. 32.

[19]Ibid., p. 43.

[20]Ibid., p. 75.

[21]Nixon, op. cit., p. 13.

[22]Merrill, Bryan and Alisky, op. cit., p. 33.

[23]Rugh, Tables 2 and 4.

[24]Ibid., p. 75.

[25]Ibid., p. 75.

[26]Ibid., p. 43.

TABLE I. PORTRAYAL OF EGYPT AND ISRAEL BY ARAB MEDIA

ACTORS 1 - 4: NATIONALITY

	AFFECT					
	Positive	Negative	Neutral/ mixed	Total %	Total N	
Egyptian Media						
Egyptian	21%	4%	75%	100%	1342	x^2=59.4
Israeli	12%	14%	74%	100%	377	p < .001
					1719	
Algerian Media						
Egyptian	9%	57%	34%	100%	158	x^2=11.09
Israeli	0	62%	38%	100%	119	p < .005
					277	
Tunisian Media						
Egyptian	3%	13%	84%	100%	174	x^2=38.51
Israeli	0	40%	60%	100%	176	p < .001
					350	
					2,346	grand total

TABLE YL INDEX OF BIAS IN ARAB MEDIA

Media	Actor	Mixed/neutral Affect		
		Observed	Theoretical*	x^2
Egyptian	Egypt	1010	1342	82.13
Algerian	Egypt	54	158	68.46
Algerian	Israel	45	119	46.02
Tunisian	Israel	105	176	28.64
Egyptian	Israel	281	377	24.45
Tunisian	Egypt	146	174	4.51

* Theoretical neutral mentions = total mentions of actor

TABLE III. PORTRAYAL OF EGYPT AND ISRAEL BY NON-ARAB MEDIA

ACTOR	AFFECT: Positive	Negative	Neutral/ mixed	Total %	N	
Icelandic Media						
Egyptian	5%	11%	84%	100%	19	$x^2 = .7$
Israeli	7%	5%	88%	100%	40	not sig.
					59	
Mexican Media						
Egyptian	7%	2%	91%	100%	45	$x^2 = .55$
Israeli	7%	5%	88%	100%	104	not sig.
					149	

TABLE IV. INDEX OF BIAS IN NON-ARAB MEDIA

Media	Actor	Mixed/neutral affect: Observed	Theoretical*	x^2
Icelandic	Egyptian	16	19	.47
	Israeli	35	40	.63
Mexican	Egyptian	41	45	.36
	Israeli	92	104	1.38

* Theoretical neutral mentions = total mentions of actor

Manifestation à El-Menia contre la trahison de Es-Saddate

Une manifestation populaire d'envergure aurait éclaté dans la localité d'El-Menia en Egypte en signe de protestation contre le référendum imposé par les autorités du Caire au peuple égyptien en vue de lui faire porter la responsabilité de la signature de l'accord séparé qu'elles ont signé avec le régime de Tel-Aviv, rapporte l'agence de presse libyenne « Jana ».

L'agence précise que les forces de police ont ouvert le feu sur les manifestants et qu'un couvre-feu a été décrété.

Es-Saddate poursuit cependant allègrement sa politique répressive et capitularde. A cet effet, l'« Assemblée égyptienne du peuple (Parlement) » été dissoute samedi, annonce un décret du chef du régime égyptien, rapporte l'agence AFP dans une dépêche datée du Caire.

Le décret qui a été publié samedi au Caire, prévoit d'autre part la tenue d'« élections législatives » le 7 juin prochain et l'ouverture de la première séance du nouveau parlement égyptien le 23 juin.

Commentant cet événement, l'agence soviétique Tass, citant des observateurs, souligne qu'« à l'aide de cette mesure, le régime d'Es-Saddate tente de se débarrasser de ceux des députés qui ne sont pas d'accord avec la ligne capitularde de la direction égyptienne ».

Pour sa part, le quotidien syrien « Techrine » a consacré dans son édition d'hier un large commentaire sur le pseudo-référendum, intervenu récemment en Egypte, en précisant que la « démocratie » du régime du Caire ne constitue pas une nouveauté ni une originalité « Elle est à l'exemple de celle de nombreux pays qui se sont soumis docilement à l'impérialisme américain », a-t-il précisé.

égypto-sioniste, dans un message adressé hier par M. Saadoun Hammadi, ministre irakien des Affaires étrangères, à M. Kurt Waldheim, secrétaire général de l'ONU.

Dans le message, cité par l'agence irakienne d'informations, M. Hammadi dévoile l'existence de tentatives visant à amener les Nations unies, d'une façon ou d'une autre, à participer au « traité de paix séparée ».

L'Irak souligne à l'adresse de M. Waldheim que l'ONU a été mise « à l'écart », par la conclusion de cet accord qui, a-t-il précisé, est contraire à la Charte de l'Organisation internationale.

En outre, le ministre des Affaires étrangères irakien a convoqué hier les chefs de missions diplomatiques arabes accrédités à Baghdad en vue de faire le point de l'application des décisions prises par la conférence des ministres arabes des Affaires étrangères et de l'économie contre le régime du Caire à la suite de la signature du « traité » égypto-israélien.

La réunion a porté particulièrement sur la rupture des relations politiques et diplomatiques avec Le Caire.

Il est à rappeler que la décision prise lors de la réunion à Baghdad stipule le retrait immédiat des ambassadeurs arabes accrédités au Caire et demande la rupture de toutes les relations avec l'Egypte.

RUPTURE TOTALE ENTRE KOWEIT ET LE CAIRE

A ce sujet, le gouvernement du Koweit a décidé hier de rompre ses relations diplomatiques et commerciales avec l'Egypte, a annoncé M. Abdul Aziz Hussein, ministre d'Etat, à l'issue d'une réunion du gouvernement.

Le ministère des Affaires étrangères prononcera la rupture officielle avant le 29 avril.

De son côté, le Conseil de l'Union générale arabe des assurances a décidé d'exclure l'Egypte et de transférer le siège de l'organisation du Caire vers une autre capitale arabe.

Cette décision intervient en application des résolutions de la conférence arabe de Baghdad.

POSITION SEOUDIENNE

Les points de vue de l'Arabie Séoudite sur la paix au Proche-Orient ne coïncident pas avec ceux des Etats-Unis car ces derniers, à nos yeux, « ne considèrent pas le règlement du problème palestinien comme la condition essentielle à la paix dans cette région », a déclaré samedi à Ryadh, le prince Abdallah Ben Abdelaziz, deuxième vice-Premier ministre et chef de la garde nationale de l'Arabie Séoudite.

« Nous ne sommes pas en accord avec la politique menée par le président Jimmy Carter, car nous estimons que la paix ne pourra voir le jour que lorsque sera reconnu le droit des Palestiniens à une patrie. Le sommet de Camp David et la conférence de Washington n'ont pas résolu ce problème fondamental et de ce fait la paix véritable a encore une fois été éloignée », a-t-il précisé au cours d'une interview à l'agence de presse du Golfe.

Parlant de l'Iran, le prince Abdallah Ben Abdelaziz a indiqué que « l'instauration d'une République Islamique a apporté un changement essentiel dans nos rapports avec l'Iran ». Ces rapports, a-t-il souligné, ne sont plus uniquement fondés sur des intérêts géopolitiques mais également sur une religion commune, l'Islam. De ce fait, nous sommes très confiants pour l'avenir en ce domaine ».

Enfin, évoquant les tentatives de reconciliation entre les deux Yémens le vice-Premier ministre séoudien a estimé que « l'entente entre les deux Yemens est notre vœu le plus cher et nous estimons que la médiation du Koweit entreprise à l'issue du récent conflit a été efficace et portera ses fruits ».

Avant qu'Es Saddate ne parle le langage de la démocratie, les dirigeants de l'« ex Vietnam du Sud » ont eux aussi utilisé ce vocable alors qu'ils étaient bien loin de la conception démocratique, précise « Techrine » ajoutant que le chah avait lui aussi sa propre conception de la démocratie. Aussi les élections qui se déroulaient alors en Iran avaient pour cadre un régime répressif aveugle.

« Es-Saddate, valet de l'impérialisme, tombera inévitablement à l'instar de ses pairs au Vietnam du Sud, et l'Iran, car il a choisi de son propre chef son devenir », conclut le quotidien syrien.

Entre temps, dans le monde arabe, la politique de trahison est régulièrement condamnée et des actions sont entreprises pour isoler le régime du Caire. C'est ainsi que l'Irak invite les Nations unies à condamner le traité séparé

APPENDIX I. ARTICLE FROM EL MOUJAHID, ALGERIA, APRIL 23, 1979